1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

and lying about on the farms. The only weapon is the bow, *kayapko*, which the Dorobo make themselves from the *kwisel* bow (*Dombeya* sp.); it is about 5 ft. long, and the bowstring, *ewet*, is made from gut of the giant pig, *bondo*. Arrow-shafts are made from the *kwenendet* and *mamata* trees, or from bamboo, *mwinyet*; arrowheads are bought from the Nandi, and are of the Nandi patterns. Arrows are carried in quivers made of hide. Arrow-poison is made from the *kakut* bush (*Acocanthera Schimperi*).

Baskets

Making baskets, *kwopet*, is a common occupation of Dorobo women. They are made from fibre of the *pheenix reclinata* palm, *mwiet*, and sewn with heat made from a plant called *kaparwiet*. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat then gradually corrugating coil, of the simple over-over type and bee-sting variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together.

Miscellaneous

Salt used to be made from the ashes of the plant *kaparwiet* (*acacia Seiegriiida*). Red and white earth is found near Timboroa on the east of the Dorobo country, and men go in parties of four or five to dig it, carrying home the earth in large leather bags, mainly in order to sell it to the Nandi who, in 1930, gave them 2s. a bag. Red earth, *ewokwet*, is mixed with fat or ghee-oil for rubbing on the hair; white earthy matter (*chuiit* whence or *Gisii*) is in lumps of a pair of oval discs 3 ft. 6 ins. long with pieces of them stretched across them, somewhat resembling a pair of lumberjack's snow-rackets. These are sometimes used by the Nandi.

Ritual and Religion

Religion

Asista, the sun, is recognized as a being that can supply or withhold the needs of people: *Asis, tgkyon pamyerk*, "*Asis*, fill us with meat," is a common prayer. Some say that *Asista* the moon is his sister, others that she is his mother. Besides *Asis*, it is believed that there is a being called *Tiet*, the thunder, who produces rain, and "the rainbow is his arm which draws up water for him." The Dorobo also believe in spirits, good and bad, both of which are called *ormomdet*, a word which includes the *mik* (ancestral spirits) and *mamumbamik* (evil spirits) of the Nandi. The ancestral spirits have the same significance and functions as those of the Nandi, and though they punish the living for doing evil, they are otherwise friendly and visit the living, travelling in the bodies of snakes, both to see their people and to get food in the form of *kibukwet* (honey and water); spirit-snakes should not be killed.

Divination

The Dorobo appear to have no diviners of their own, and when they have recourse to divination, as in cases of illness or witchcraft, they go to Nandi diviners of the type called *ostoiyoot*, by whom they are charged a small fee. The people called *orkoiyot* (pl. *orkoik*) among the Dorobo are no more than healers or physicians who prepare healing medicines from trees and plants. Although the Dorobo have a reputation among other tribes as powerful rain-makers, they themselves say that they have no rain-makers, which is probably true.

Death and Burial

Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 5 ft. deep in which the bodies are laid full length wearing their clothes; one year after an old man's death his children plant a branch of *mukuyuut* (*Ficus* sp.) on his grave and let it grow. Other people are laid out for the hyenas, both sexes on the right side with

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kevpet*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[404] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kevpet*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
438 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruwa in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruwa; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his horde. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building; 2. Hunting; 3. Digging earth; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[234] for which he will get help from a relative or chance-fellow. (2) When people hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among
[309] them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 10 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own
[241] shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

[376] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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[361]

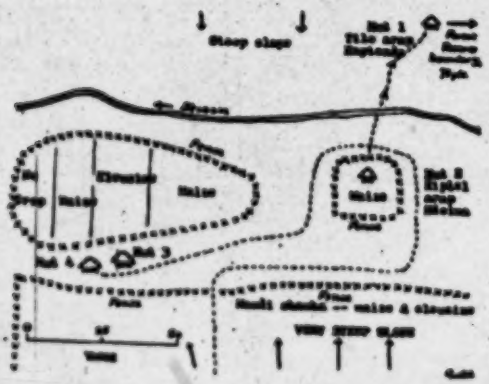

Fig. 6. Plan of a Dorobo Shamba at Kelpui alongside a Nandi Shamba.

at Kipukua in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *keseviat*, that the original shamba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a [illegible] divide the area inside a fence, each contributing to the labour of making it; [648] and in some cases Dorobo share part of a fenced shamba with Nandi (Fig. 6).

● 317 Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Timboroa (or *Tambarua*, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging [482] stick, *kamet*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in [423] large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth-producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who hunted over that tract of land, and though no fee seems to have been paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be verified. To-day the Dorobo sell coloured earth to the Nandi, who pay them 439 485 at the rate of 2 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *crokoit*, is used 302 mixed with fat (or sometimes *simsim* oil) for rubbing on the head; white 789 earth, *cuoriat*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

d) Cattle

231 If the Dorobo had not been in such close contact with a people whose 177 primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have contented 181 themselves with agriculture and no live stock. But their relations with the Nandi have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the [552] possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But